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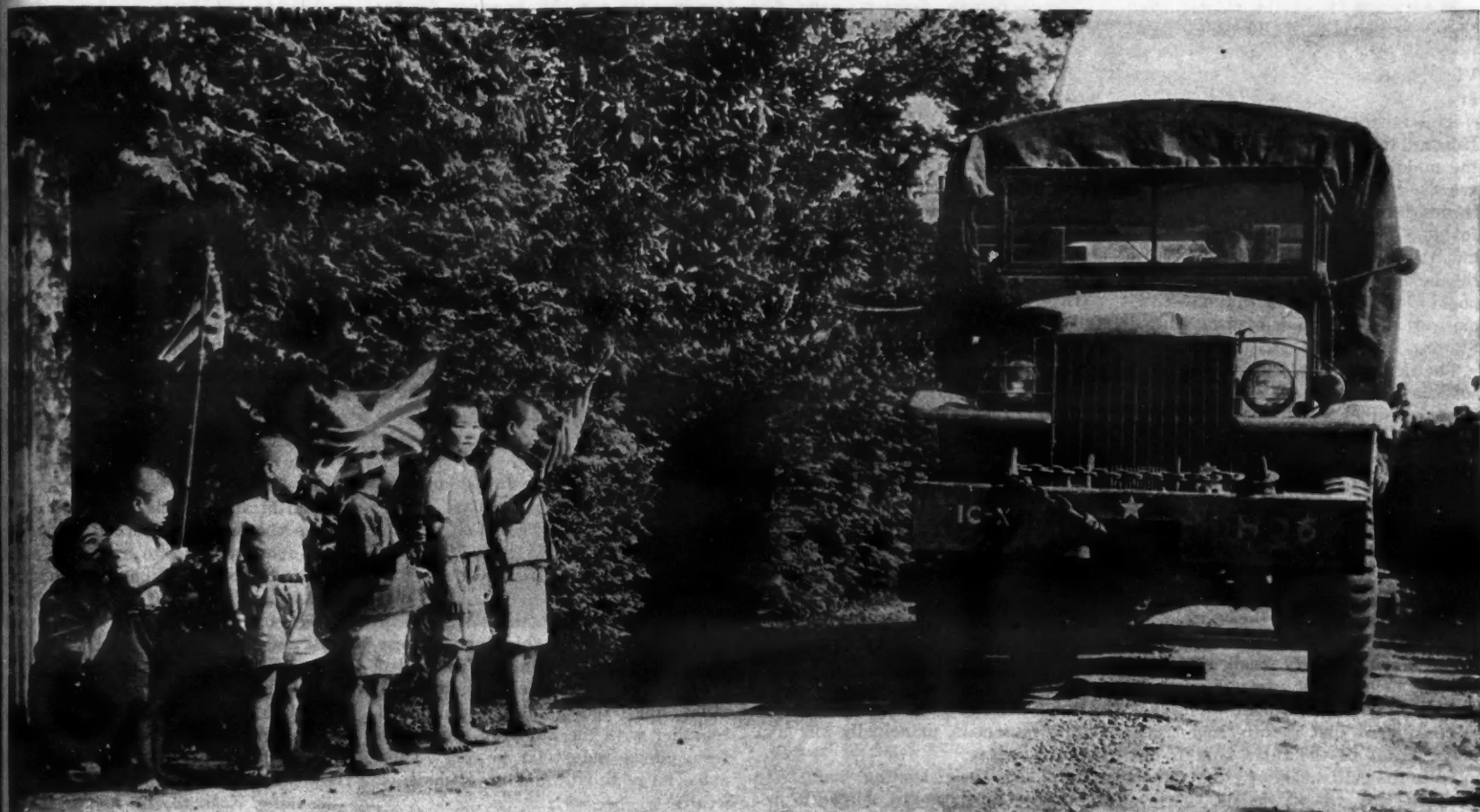
The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

VOLUME XV, NUMBER 4

WASHINGTON, D. C.

OCTOBER 1, 1945



On the surface, the Japanese have accepted the American occupation submissively, although many problems are already looming in our relations with them

The Job Before Us in Japan

THE victory which we won over Japan, after nearly four years of bitter and costly fighting, does not relieve us of the Japanese problem. The terrible conflict did not of itself solve the problems which produced it. Wars seldom do. At best they give the victors a chance to work at the problems which disturb peace. That is what this war did. It gave us an opportunity to make an Asiatic settlement which may result in peace and human welfare.

If Japanese government and industry are properly controlled, and if Japanese thinking is effectively and wisely directed and guided, it is possible that peace may prevail in the Pacific as far into the future as we can foresee. The Japanese may be led to give up thought of aggression, or, if that is not possible, they may be put into such a position that they cannot make aggressive war. If, on the other hand, we bungle our attempts at settlement, the sacrifices we have made during the war may turn out to be fruitless and victory may be short-lived.

We cannot afford to be complacent as we think of these possibilities; we cannot forget that the settlement which followed the war with Germany a generation ago was bungled. The victor nations at that time did not use their power wisely. The result was that Germany soon regained her strength, started again on the road of aggression, came within an inch of victory, and inflicted upon many na-

tions wounds from which they may never recover.

This tragic story need not be repeated in the case of our dealings with Japan. It will not be repeated if we act with firmness, determination, and wisdom. But how shall we act? What shall we do with Japan during these fateful days when the country is under our control? That is the supreme question which confronts us, and which we cannot ignore.

The difficulty of the problem is indicated by the fact that differences of opinion have already developed concerning courses which we should pursue. There is lack of agreement between General MacArthur, the commander of the Allied occupation forces, and the government in Washington. The commanding general has developed his own policies regarding the control of Japan and the treatment of Japanese government and industry. Apparently he has adopted these policies without consulting the American State Department. He feels that things are going well and thinks that the American occupation forces may be reduced to a much lower figure than had been expected.

The Undersecretary of State, Dean Acheson, who is Acting Secretary of State while Secretary Byrnes is attending the Conference of Foreign Ministers in London, sternly reminds General MacArthur that he is not to make policies but is merely to carry out the program adopted by the Washington government.

Actual decision as to what shall be done with Japan is in the hands of a committee of officials representing the Departments of State, War, and Navy. In the long run, however, if serious problems of policy should develop, final action will be determined by American public opinion.

The purposes which are to be carried out are set forth in the Potsdam Declaration. It was drawn up by the United States, Britain, and China last July for the purpose of outlining surrender terms to Japan. Some time later, after the dropping of the atomic bomb and Russia's entry into the war, Japan accepted the terms of the Potsdam Ultimatum.

This document provides that the Japanese military and political leaders who led the nation into the war shall be permanently stripped of their authority and influence. It provides that war criminals shall be punished. It deprives Japan of all territory except her four main islands "and such minor islands as we determine." It calls for the complete disbandment of Japanese military forces and war industries. It declares that the Japanese people must be given freedom of speech, of religion, and of political thought and action. It provides for Allied occupation until all these reforms and changes are carried out, and until a democratic, peacefully inclined, and responsible government is established.

Such is the general program which has been agreed upon, but everything depends upon the way the program is

put into effect. To what extent, for example, should Japanese officials be depended upon to carry out the orders which our government gives? Another question relates to the way industry should be controlled so as to insure that the Japanese cannot again prepare for war. The Potsdam Declaration merely states general purposes. We have now to decide upon the specific measures which shall be employed in order that these purposes shall be realized.

We must also keep this fact in mind: whatever policies may be adopted now toward Japan, the Japanese people—some 75 million of them—will still inhabit their islands and will be a force to be reckoned with, not during the next few years, but for generations to come. Through all this period we must be dealing with the Japanese, and by the success of our dealings the peace and prosperity of Asia and the whole Pacific area will be largely determined.

It is highly important, therefore, that we study Japan, that we know a great deal about the Japanese people, their government, their religion, their industry, their social and economic life. We must understand them in order that our policies relating to them may be sound and wise.

As a contribution toward such understanding we are making this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER a special number on Japan, her people and her economic and political life, and on problems relating to the peace settlement which are now before us.

Japan—The Land and the People

JAPAN proper, the part of the empire which will be left to the Japanese, consists of a string of islands—four of them quite large and the others considerably smaller. If this island chain were to be placed along our eastern seaboard, it would extend from Maine to Florida. At its widest point it would extend inland about as far as Virginia does at its southern boundary.

The northern island is Hokkaido. Honshu, the largest of the group, is in the middle; and Shikoku and Kyushu are farther south. The total area of these islands is less than that of California. For the most part, they are mountainous, only about one-sixth of the land being fit for farming. The population is about 75 million—little more than half that of the United States.

The densest population is found in southeastern and southern Honshu. Grouped rather closely together in this section are the six great cities of Japan. The largest, Tokyo, was nearly the size of London or New York before the war. The others are, in order of size, Osaka, Nagoya, Kyoto, Yokohama and Kobe. In population these five cities range from that of Chicago to Cleveland.

About one-half of the people of Japan are engaged in farming. Most of the farms are very small, the average size being about two and one-half acres. In the United States, this would be considered just a fair-sized truck patch. Half of the farm land is devoted to the cultivation of rice. Other products are wheat, beans, barley, millet, fruit, and vegetables.

There is little stock raising, for the Japanese people eat practically no meat or butter and have very little milk.

The amount of meat eaten per person is less than one-thirtieth the amount consumed in this country. The Japanese make up for the lack of meat by eating a great deal of fish. The fishing industry is a very important one.

The Japanese farmers have few horses and little machinery. Most of the work is done by hand. The farm families toil for long hours at grinding labor and make only enough to eke out a poor existence. They are taxed extremely heavily, the rates of taxation being higher than those imposed upon factory owners. Most of the farmers—even those who own their land—are in debt, and frequently the daughters of the family are sent away while still young to work in factories.

Even the program of intensified farming does not provide the people with enough to eat. In normal years even rice has to be imported.

During recent years there has been a rapid development of manufacturing industries. The number of workers employed in these industries doubled during the period 1929-1942. About two-fifths of the workers of the country, outside of agriculture, are engaged in the making of metal goods, steel, machinery, and chemicals. During the 10 years before the war, production in these lines increased fourfold.

The textile industry is next in importance. A third of the industrial workers are engaged in the making of textile materials, principally silk and cotton goods.

To keep their leading industries going, the Japanese are obliged to import raw materials. They have a fair amount of coal, but little iron. They must bring the iron in from Manchuria, China, and elsewhere, in order

to manufacture such products as steel and machinery.

The Japanese produce no cotton, so they must import the raw material from the United States, China, and India to supply their cotton mills. They produce the raw silk, however, for the flourishing silk manufacturing industry. Many workers are engaged in the cultivation of mulberry trees, the leaves of which feed the silkworms. Japan produces about three-fourths of the world's annual silk output.

The workers in the factories are probably worse off than the farmers, and that is saying a great deal. Before the war, their average work week was 56 hours, which may be compared with 38 hours in the United States. Most of the laborers received less than \$7 a week. Of course, they can get along better on that amount than a person could in this country, for in Japan, food and many other native products are cheap. However, even for Japanese workers, \$7 a week permits only the most meager living. The laboring classes are crowded in the slum quarters and have a very scant food supply.

A great part of the industry is in the hands of a few powerful companies. Four families—Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda—control a fourth of the country's industry and most of its shipping. These wealthy industrial families are called the *Zaibatsu*. There are a number of other huge industrial concerns, and together with the *Zaibatsu*, they have tremendous industrial power. They make large profits and have immense wealth.

Japan is, therefore, a land of contrast; with a few families enjoying riches and luxury, and the great mass of the population living in abject poverty and under conditions little better than slavery.

Japanese families are usually large, and the people live under crowded conditions. The crowding is all the greater due to the fact that two families are likely to live together. When the eldest son marries, he and his wife live under the same roof with his parents. The son's wife occupies a position in the family superior to that of the daughters.

The Japanese women work in the fields. They do not enjoy much free-

dom. The father of the family is highly regarded and must be obeyed.

The typical Japanese house is a fragile one-story building without strong foundation. Its walls are made of light, wooden frames and sliding panels of wood or paper serve as doors and windows. For Japan, this type of house is practical, because it is cheap and can easily be replaced if destroyed by earthquake or other disasters which occur from time to time in that land.

Inside, the Japanese home is equally simple. Paper partitions divide the living space into rooms. In cold weather the house is poorly heated by a small charcoal stove. Floors are covered with straw mats which may easily be taken up and moved. There is little furniture. The Japanese family eats kneeling on the floor before a low table. Mats or quilts serve as beds. A single picture, vase of flowers, or idol, will serve as decoration.

The population is rather sharply divided into social classes. There is not a caste system such as one finds in India. No one is required by law to remain in any one class or caste. So far as the law is concerned, one may move from a lower to a higher position, as the people of our own country do; but, as a matter of fact, each Japanese is born into some particular social class, and it is very hard for him to get out of it.

The highest class, or caste, is that of the nobles. This class is small in number but great in influence. The military leaders and the diplomats are frequently drawn from this group.

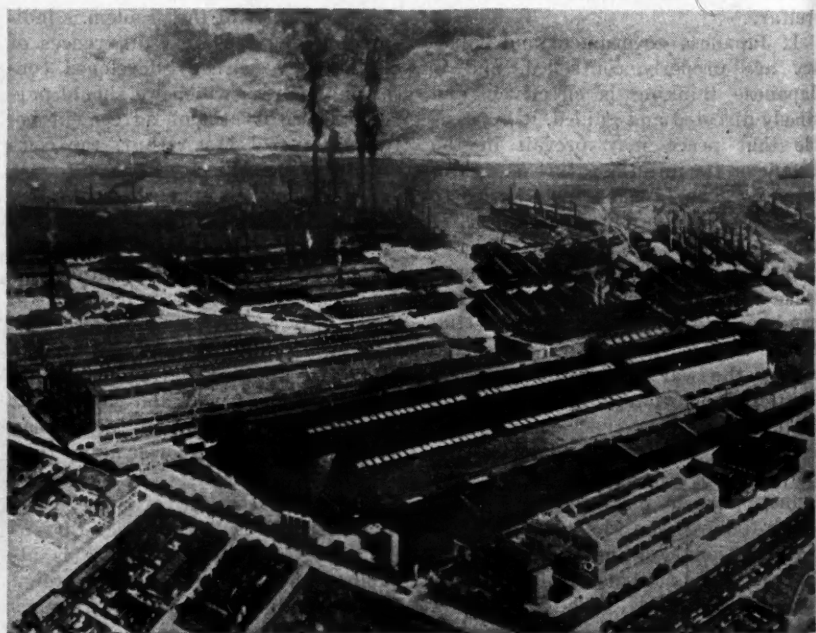
Ranking close to the nobles in influence and prestige come the big industrialists, the *Zaibatsu*; the wealthy merchants. These people, small in number, live luxuriously and have great political power. Many of the governmental leaders belong to this group.

Below the nobles and the big business element, there is a rather large middle class made up of small businessmen, merchants, and professional men, such as doctors, dentists, lawyers, and teachers. Next come the farmers and the workers, whose poverty and lack of opportunity have already been described.

Of course, there are divisions of this kind in the population of any country.



Emperor-worship is deeply ingrained in the Japanese people. The gold leaf chrysanthemum on the gate of this shrine in Tokyo is the symbol of the Japanese Imperial Family.



Much of the industrial wealth of Japan is controlled by a few powerful families. The electric works shown above are but a part of the large holdings of the Mitsubishi family.

even the United States (except that we do not have the nobility). In every land there are people living in wealth and larger numbers living under hard conditions. But in Japan the social classes are more sharply marked than in many other countries, and it is harder to rise from one social level to another.

Education, of a kind, is well supported. All the children go to school and they learn to read and write. In fact, there is less illiteracy in Japan than in the United States. In proportion to the population, the number of pupils in the primary schools is somewhat greater in Japan than in our own country.

A large number of the Japanese children go on to high school. There are about three million Japanese youths in the ordinary high schools and the technical high schools where boys and girls are given a vocational education. When we take into account that the population of Japan is little more than half that of the United States, it will be seen that high school attendance there is almost as great in proportion to the total number of inhabitants as in our own country. Fewer Japanese, however, attend college.

While school attendance in Japan is large, the educational work is not on so high a plane as in this country. The Japanese children are not given a broad education. They are not taught to think freely. Education is closely controlled by the government, and the chief purpose is to teach loyalty to the Emperor.

The Japanese are trained to be unquestioning subjects who will accept and support whatever the government decrees. They are taught that the Japanese are a superior people, destined sometime to rule the world. They are not given an understanding of other nations and other peoples and are given no instruction designed to enable them to govern themselves.

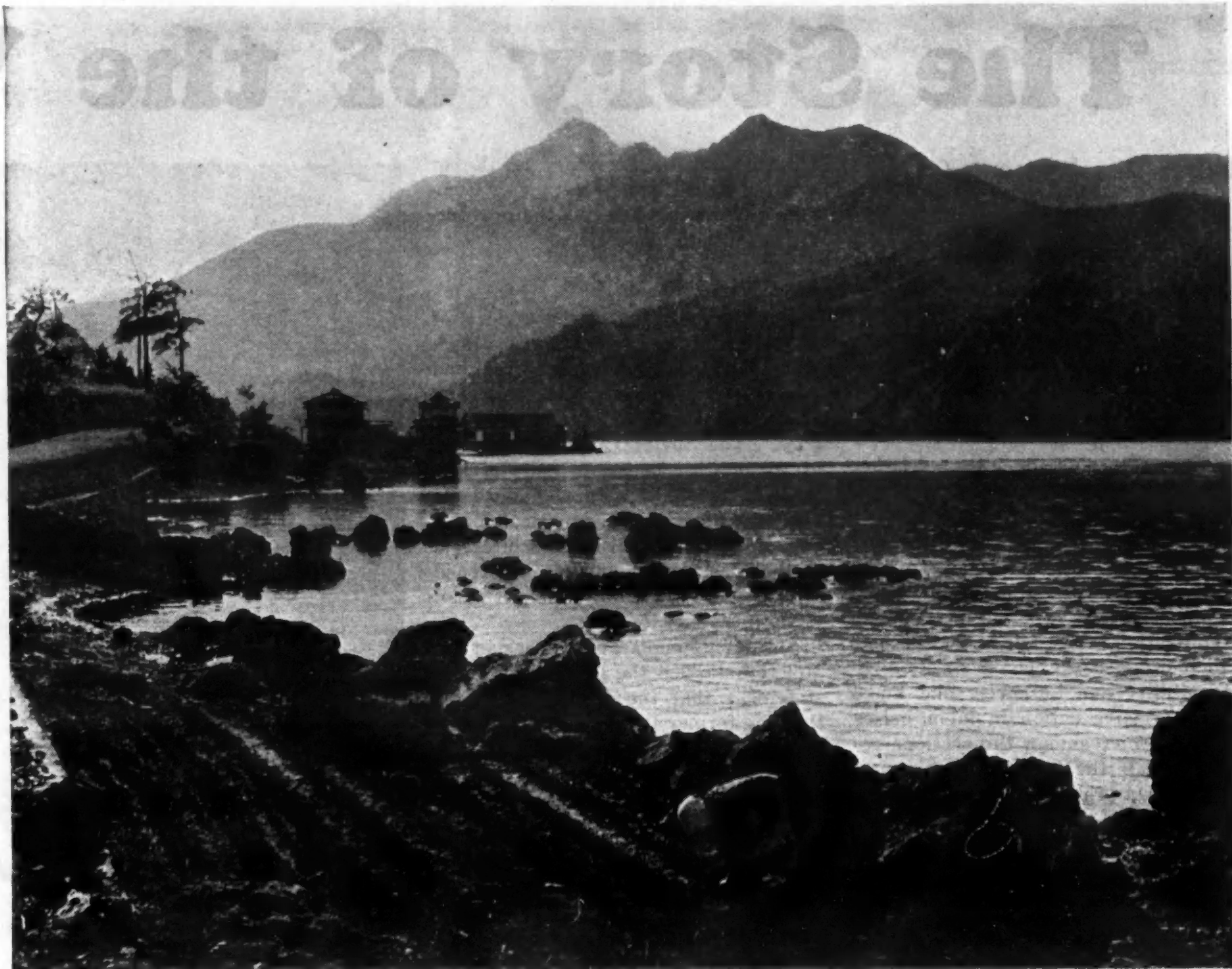
In the school the teacher is more than an instructor. He is a small overlord whose solemn task is to train the youth of the nation. It is his mission to instruct the young in their duties to family, country, and Emperor. There can be no question of his superior knowledge. Nothing is ever permitted to interfere with the idea of devotion to duty.

There is freedom of worship in Japan, and a number of religions have followers. The chief religions are Buddhism and Shintoism. About 42 million of the people are Buddhists and 17 million are Shintoists. Confucianism has a strong hold on the best educated classes and there are 350,000 Christians.

Buddhism teaches that one should live a clean wholesome life, and be kind to all people and animals. When he dies his soul lives on and may enter into another individual or even an animal. Finally, it may simply cease to exist. There is no after life as the Christians think of it and no supreme ruler of the universe, though Buddha is worshipped. The Buddhists have shrines in their homes, and, in fact, Buddhism has degenerated into a form of idol worship.

Shintoism teaches what is called "the way of the gods." There are many gods, according to this faith, and at one time they lived in Japan. From one of these gods the Emperor has descended. He is, therefore, according to the belief of Shintoism, not only a temporal ruler, but a god.

In order to build up the Emperor in



Because only one-sixth of Japan's land is arable, every available bit must be used to feed the people.

THREE LIONS

the minds of the people so that they will unquestionably obey him, the government of Japan has favored Shintoism. In fact, all the people, whether they are Shintoists or not, are obliged to read and be acquainted with the story of the gods and the divinity of the Emperor. This story is taught in all the schools. It forms a large part of the school instruction. Most Japanese have Shintoist shrines in their homes. If they are Buddhist, they have two shrines—one Buddhist and the other Shintoist.

Shintoist observances have been made a part of the daily life of all the people. Eyes must be cast down in the Emperor's presence. His picture must be treated with reverence. In schools his likeness is kept in a hallowed alcove; in case of fire it must be rescued even at the cost of teachers' or pupils' lives. The emperor's name must never be spoken or printed. He must be referred to as "exalted majesty", "son of heaven" or some other such reverent term. Persons passing the Imperial Palace, whether on foot, in automobile, or streetcar, must rise and bow.

The greatest honor which can befall a Japanese soldier is to die for the Emperor. It is believed that any Japanese, because of the country's divine origin and guidance, is superior to any non-Japanese of whatever race or culture. The actions of the Japanese, and of Japan, are guided by the gods and can never be wrong.

In considering the actual workings of the Japanese government, it is necessary to bear in mind these fundamental beliefs of the people. This is what they have been taught and made to think. It is the foundation structure of Japanese politics and government.

In theory the Emperor is the absolute ruler of Japan, but in fact, his powers are limited. He issues orders which have the force of law, but he does this only on the recommendation of his advisers. These advisers really decide what shall be done, and the

Emperor merely signs his name to the decrees.

Great power is exercised by a cabinet headed by a prime minister, but the power of making policies does not always rest with the official members of the cabinet; not even with the prime minister. Leaders of the army and navy are sometimes powerful enough to control the actions of the cabinet. It often happens that they have more power in deciding which laws the Emperor shall sign and which policies shall be decided upon than the cabinet members do. There is a group of "elder statesmen" who also frequently use their influence. Great power is also exercised by the big capitalists, the *Zaibatsu*, and other prominent leaders of industry.

It sometimes happens that there are fierce conflicts between these groups to determine who shall direct policies. Actual power is also exercised by secret societies, usually under the influence of the army and navy chiefs. These secret societies have not hesitated to assassinate cabinet members who did not do their bidding.

Below the cabinet there is a parliament or Diet which is, on paper, very much like the British Parliament. It is composed of a House of Peers and a House of Representatives. The House of Representatives is elected by the people, but most of the people are ignorant of politics. They read only what the government wants them to read. They are in fear of their lives if they advocate anything which the heads of the government do not approve. They are spied upon by representatives of the government and representatives of the fanatical secret societies. They may be killed or imprisoned if they are too independent. They may even be persecuted because they are supposed to have "dangerous thoughts." Hence the people are held in subjection and have little opportunity to express their views.

Furthermore, the parliament has very little authority. It engages in

debates, but the real decisions are made by those higher up—by the cabinet or by unofficial groups which are able to put their ideas into force.

References

An excellent series of articles providing background information appeared in the April 1944 issue of the magazine *Fortune*, and the same articles have been reprinted in the 166-page booklet, *Japan and the Japanese*, which may be purchased for 25 cents from the Infantry Journal, 1115 Seventeenth St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Additional background material can be found in two pamphlets especially written to be used as textbooks by high-school students: *Modern Japan*, by William Henry Chamberlin, and *Behind the Open Door*, by Foster Rhea Dulles. Each pamphlet has 96 pages and costs 40 cents. They are both published by the Webster Publishing Co., St. Louis 3, Mo.

A longer book, dealing especially with the Japanese people—their social organization, religion, customs, and national attitudes—is John F. Embree's *The Japanese Nation* (Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1945; 308 pages; text edition, \$2.25). A well-written summary article, based largely on the contents of this book and bearing its title, appears on pages 109-117 of the September 17 issue of *Life*.

Two authors who have recently tackled the big problem of what to do with Japan in the months and years ahead are Andrew Roth and William C. Johnstone. The Roth book is entitled *Dilemma in Japan* (Little, Brown, Boston, 1945, 302 pages, \$2.50). Dr. Johnstone's book is called *The Future of Japan* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1945, 162 pages, \$2.00).

Problems of occupying Japan are summarized from an over-all standpoint in the leading article of the September 21 issue of *United States News*, "The Remaking of Japan." The same problems are interpreted from a specialized point of view by Henry C. Wolfe in the *New York Times Magazine* (issue of August 26, 1945, pages 5-7, 29, 32, "Suzuki-San—Our Major Problem in Japan").

Pronunciations

Eritrea—eh-ree-tray'ah
Hokkaido—hoe-ki'doe—i as in ice
Kobe—koe'beh
Kyoto—kyoe'toe
Kynshu—kyoo'shoo
Mitsubishi—mit-soo-bee'shee
Mitsui—mit-soo'ee
Nagoya—nah-goe'yah
Osaka—oe-sah'kah
Shikoku—shee-koe'koo
Sumitomo—soo-mee-toe'moe
Tripolitania—tree-poe-lee-tahn'yah
Zaibatsu—zi-bah't'soo—i as in ice

The Story of the Week

Labor Developments

Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach is now turning the big guns of a reorganized, integrated, and vastly more powerful Labor Department on the nation's dangerous strike problem. President Truman's recent reorganization order has placed the National War Labor Board, the United States Employment Service, and the War Manpower Commission under his jurisdiction, leaving the National Labor Relations Board the sole independent agency dealing strictly with labor problems.

Along with the regrouping of the labor agencies under a single leadership, there has been an internal reorganization of the Labor Department which promises to clarify lines of responsibility and authority and make swift, decisive action in labor crises easier. Chief among the sections reorganized is the Conciliation Service, which takes preliminary action to promote peaceful settlement of disputes.

Edgar L. Warren, head of the reformed Conciliation Service, is already working hard to bring about a settlement of the labor disturbances in Detroit. Here, mass layoffs by the Ford Company and other leading employers have heightened the tension brought on by the decision of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) to begin a campaign for higher base wages to compensate for losses in take-home pay occasioned by the end of the long work week.

The UAW, which demands a 30 per cent increase in pay for its members, is conducting its campaign on a plant-by-plant basis, opening fire by scheduling a strike against the General Motors Corporation, largest employer in the industry. The situation is further complicated by the unauthorized walk-out of 4,500 Ford workers.

Labor, management, and government alike, however, are pinning high hopes for a peaceful untangling of these current problems on the labor-management conference which is to open in Washington November 5. At this conference, representatives of leading unions, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers

will meet with Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach and Secretary of Commerce Wallace to settle their differences through discussion.

Difficulties in London

The first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, which was scheduled to close in London last week, had solved few problems but had succeeded in stirring up some difficult new ones. The Soviet Union's revelation of its interest in the future development of the Mediterranean and Africa was regarded by the American press as a direct threat to Britain's interests in the former area and to entrenched interests in Africa, which might mean Britain, France, or Italy.

Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav M. Molotov startled the Council with his statement that the U.S.S.R. believed that the former Italian domain, Tripolitania, should be administered under an individual trusteeship and that Russia would like to assume the role of trustee for the United Nations. Russia has also given evidences of her concern with the future of the Dodecanese Islands, formerly held by Italy, which the other four powers had agreed should be awarded to Greece.

No decisions were made by the Council on questions where violent disagreement was threatened. The Italian peace treaty, for example, will have to await further consideration until the next meeting of foreign ministers, which is planned for about a month after the end of the current conferences. The deputies, to whom directives on the subject are being issued, will prepare a draft on the basis of the position taken by the great powers at this meeting. They will also prepare recommendations on the settlement of the Italo-Yugoslav frontier.

While the remaking of the map of Europe is obviously a delicate task, agreement upon such questions as what constitutes a representative government came into the open as the most difficult but most necessary achievement with regard to the Balkans.

Both Britain and the United States have made it clear that until they are satisfied that the governments of the Balkan states, particularly Romania and Bulgaria, have been selected by democratic processes, they will refuse to sign any peace treaties whatever pertaining to those states.

Truman on Food

Hungry Europe still faces a difficult winter, but not so hard a one as many have feared. For President Truman has pledged this country to fill the continent's chief needs for food and rehabilitation supplies. The United States cannot guarantee more than minimum subsistence to Europe's people, but the President has made it clear that, even if it means continuing ration controls here, larger shipments of food will be sent abroad in the coming months.



BIG FOUR IN GERMANY. The commanders of the Allied occupation forces in Germany stand at salute in Berlin. They are (left to right): Field Marshal Sir Bernard L. Montgomery of Great Britain; Marshal Gregory Zhukov, the Soviet Union; General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, United States; and General Joseph Koenig, France.

Our promise to feed Europe is motivated in part by gratitude for the magnificent battle the people of the liberated continent fought on behalf of our common cause. It is also motivated by our desire to prevent the upheavals which would surely follow if the liberated countries were left to starve.

The Loan Issue

Should the United States extend further financial aid to the Allies? If so, on what terms should the help be given? Government policymakers are still deliberating these questions as partisans of different points of view urge their particular cases.

Among those who have suggested the course our government should take is former President Herbert Hoover. Outlining an 11-point program, Hoover advises forgetting lend-lease and other obligations incurred by our allies during the war for a five-year period. Meanwhile, he thinks the weapons acquired by foreign nations through lend-lease should be destroyed.

Hoover believes we should study the entire world economic picture, with special attention to foreign assets in the United States, before deciding to extend further loans and credits abroad. If we do help Britain, Russia, and the other needy nations, it is his opinion that we should make sure our wealth will not be used to finance businesses which will compete with ours, social experiments, or propaganda against our form of government. We should also demand guarantees that the nations we help will not erect tariff barriers against us.

The Hoover program also includes recommendations that we dispose of much of our surplus property abroad, that the loans and credits we extend shall be in terms of goods rather than of money, and that the whole credit picture be reexamined in 10 years.

Finally, the former President urges that food and fuel programs for the relief of foreign nations be reorganized for greater efficiency.

Unsettled Indo-China

A sharp collision of rival nationalisms has been the first product of Indo-China's liberation from Japan. As this is written, the rich territory which curves around Thailand in the south, touching China and Burma in the north and west, is turbulent with French, Chinese, and Indo-Chinese maneuverings.

The French, desperate to win back their imperial prestige after the humiliations of the war years, are seriously handicapped in their efforts to reestablish the sovereignty surrendered to Japan in 1941. There is, first of all, the opposition of the native peoples to the return of the French. Even before the war, the unpopularity



Italy's strategic colonies

NEW YORK TIMES

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of the French administration gave rise to secret independence movements in Indo-China. The Japanese encouraged these and, last spring, persuaded the Viet Nam, or Nationalist Party, to declare Indo-China's independence.

The Viet Nam set up a provisional government headed by Communist Ho Chin Ninh. This group, together with the Viet Ninh, or Communist Party, is now resisting French return under the slogan "Independence or Death."

France is also handicapped by her lack of troops in the Indo-Chinese area. This has made it necessary for British and Chinese troops to handle the disarmament of the Japanese and other immediate post-liberation problems. But the French have been alarmed by reports that the Chinese have refused to admit French leaders to Hanoi, capital of the colony.

For a price, however, the Chinese seem willing to relinquish their hold on Indo-China. Recent conversations between General de Gaulle and Premier T. V. Soong have reassured the French that China will respect their colonial rights—provided de Gaulle's government gives up extraterritoriality in China and gives the Chinese port and railway privileges in northern Indo-China.

Radar's Future

Radar, the secret electronic device for detecting the presence and nature of distant objects, is now ready to step into a peacetime role as important as the one it performed in war. In wartime, radar was used to direct artillery fire, to guide planes in for "blind" landings, and to warn our ships and planes of approaching enemy craft. In peacetime, it promises to improve the efficiency and safety of civil aviation to an extent previously thought impossible.



JENSEN IN CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

That wonderful view from the top

From the Radiation Laboratories established in Boston by the Office of Scientific Research and Development comes news of some of the new things it may do. First of all, it may be used in civil air traffic control. Dr. L. A. DuBridge, executive head of the Laboratory, suggests a network of some 200 radar stations throughout the country. At each of these, the "magic eye" of radar would pick up and record the exact position of all planes within its range. It would also note weather conditions. This information would be relayed to pilots by traffic controllers, who would advise pilots of easiest and safest ways to proceed. Thus delays at overcrowded airports might be prevented, collisions avoided, and the hazards of bad weather minimized. Secondly, radar may prove an invaluable aid to fliers on long, over-water hops. Equipped with the loran,



Secretary of War Patterson

or long-range navigation scope, they will be able to gauge their courses with greater safety and accuracy than before.

Radar works its miracles through the use of reflected radio waves. A transmitter sends out streams of very short waves which travel in a straight line with the speed of light (186,000 miles a second). Striking any solid object, they bounce back to the point from which they started. Converted into light patterns on a screen, these reflected radio waves portray whatever mountains, planes, or other obstacles they have touched. A radar operator can then measure the distance to the obstacle and plot his course accordingly.

Thus far, the United States has spent \$3,000,000,000 on radar installations. How much more it is likely to spend in the future is indicated by the fact that the radar industry is already six times as big as the entire prewar radio business.

UNO Meeting

The United Nations Organization blueprinted at San Francisco last spring is scheduled to become a working reality some time before Christmas. The executive committee of the Preparatory Commission, charged with readying the new world security agency for action, expects to finish its work by November 1 at the latest. Its recommendations will then be submitted to the full Preparatory Commission and the first meeting of the UNO General Assembly will probably be called before December 4.

The Assembly will meet first in London, where its members will discuss organizational problems and refer urgent world problems to the appropriate United Nations organs. A second meeting, to be convoked not later than April 25, anniversary of the opening of the San Francisco Conference, will see the UNO established in its permanent home—probably either Geneva or San Francisco.

The Court Returns

As of today, October 1, the Supreme Court is back in harness, ready to consider a number of important cases. In the current session, which will last until next June, the Court is scheduled to determine the validity of the Renegotiation of War Contracts Act, to decide whether the "death penalty clause" of the Securities and Exchange Act requires that certain large holding companies be broken up, and to settle several other constitutional problems.

For most of the autumn and winter, the Court will do its work with a membership of eight, as Associate Justice



Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach

Robert H. Jackson is to be away, serving as American prosecutor in the German war criminal trials. Of the eight, seven are veterans of previous sessions; one, a newcomer—Associate Justice Harold H. Burton.

Burton, President Truman's first appointment to the high court, has distinguished himself as a lawyer, mayor, and senator. He and the President were close associates in Congress, working together on the Truman Committee and supporting the same program of internationalism. A Republican, Burton brings minority party representation on the Court to two.

Kagawa

Even those who believe all Japanese to be cruel, crafty, and anti-democratic have always admitted an exception to the rule in Toyohiko Kagawa, for years Japan's foremost Christian leader. Kagawa, who remained in Japan throughout the war, recently explained his present feelings about the war and Japan's future.

He admitted criticizing the United States when the bombing campaigns were at their height, but reaffirmed his faith in both democratic and Christian ideals. It is Kagawa's belief that Japan now has a real desire to turn toward democracy. He feels, however, that it may take a long time. When the Japanese have become democratic, he thinks they will devote themselves to peaceful pursuits completely, the nation becoming a sort of Oriental Sweden.



Associate Justice Burton

Kagawa has already begun making his own contribution. He is active in relief work and has organized a committee to edit public school textbooks and to eliminate all militant statements.

Secretary Patterson

President Truman's appointment of Robert P. Patterson to replace Henry L. Stimson as Secretary of War has added a forthright, vigorous personality to the cabinet. In the five years he served in the War Department before becoming its head, Secretary Patterson established a reputation for hard-hitting, fearless defense of his ideas, even at the expense of making enemies in Congress and throughout the Administration.

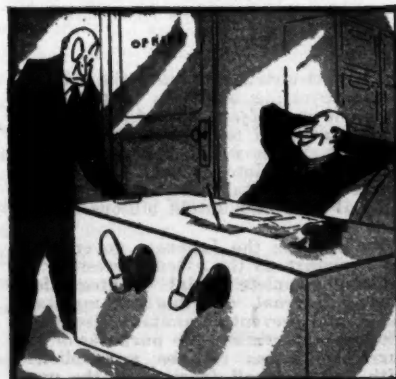
Patterson's vigorous defense of Army production policies brought him into conflict with the Truman Committee. His insistence that civilian luxuries should be discarded in the interest of all-out war production precipitated a controversy with Donald Nelson and other War Production Board leaders. Currently, his championing of a War and Navy Department merger has stirred opposition in Congress.

Like Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, Patterson comes to his job after an apprenticeship as Undersecretary, in the course of which he handled much of the policy-making for his department. His appointment is expected to make for increasingly harmonious Army-Navy teamwork.

S M I L E S

Operator (to preacher dialing long distance to call a clergyman friend): Do you wish to place a station to station call?
Preacher: No—parson to parson.

Employer: Are you a clock watcher?
Fresh guy: No. I don't like inside work; I'm a whistle listener.



"It's more comfortable than putting them on top"

"Say, Mr. Jones, dad wants to know what you've raised in your garden so far?"
"Tell him four broods of his chickens and one turnip."

Teacher: What is the name of a group of islands in the Pacific belonging to the United States?
Johnny: Huh? Why—ah—
Teacher: Correct.

Small boy: Dad, why can't we be an average ordinary family?
Dad: That's just what we are, son. What do you mean?
Small boy: No, dad. An ordinary family on the radio gets trapped in a mine, catches 10 counterfeiters, sinks a U-boat, puts out a fire in an orphanage and balks a train robbery. The only excitement we have here is when you run into a clothesline in the dark.

Taxi driver (to wealthy fare): Your son tips me more generously than you do, sir.
Fare: That's quite possible. He has a wealthy father—I haven't.

Many Unsolved Problems in Japan

A MONTH has passed since the formal surrender of Japan and the occupation of the home islands by United States forces under the command of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur. During that month, many problems have arisen in connection with the occupation and with our future relations with the defeated enemy. There has been widespread criticism of the manner in which General MacArthur has dealt with the the Japanese—criticism which has reached as high as the State Department in Washington. The charge has been made that MacArthur has been too "soft" with the Japanese and that, unless our policy is changed, Japan will at some future time be able to rise again and threaten the peace of the world.

Because of the importance of these problems, we are devoting these two pages of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER to a discussion of some of the more widely debated issues. In certain cases, American policy has not yet been clearly set forth. In others, widespread controversy already exists. We shall, therefore, examine the problems and, where differences of opinion exist, set forth the points at issue.

Purpose of Occupation

In dealing with the Japanese, General MacArthur is using the cabinet which was established at the time of the surrender. He has not undertaken to set up an Allied military government to direct the affairs of Japan, such as has been done in Germany. Whatever orders MacArthur gives are carried out by the Japanese governmental machinery. If any of the orders are not carried out, the occupation forces will be used. For example, the Japanese themselves are rounding up the militarists and others who have been placed on the war criminal list.

The principal criticism of this policy is that it will not lead to the uprooting of fascism in Japan. It is charged that, while a few of the top militarists and all members of the cabinet which was in power at the time of Pearl Harbor have been placed on the war criminal list, others equally responsible for Japan's warlike policies have thus far escaped. Many of them are still in positions of influence. Three classes of the population, in particular, are held to share responsibility with the army and navy leaders. They are the big industrial and financial leaders, the landed aristocracy, and the regular bureaucracy of the Japanese government. Mr. Sumner Welles, former Undersecretary of State, expresses this criticism as follows in his syndicated column:

The army and the navy were primarily responsible for the course which the nation followed. But during the past generation the Japanese industrial and financial magnates have been working hand-in-glove with the imperial high command. From the time of Japan's first invasion of China, they have been joined by swarms of speculators and profiteers who thrive on the military exploitation of occupied territories. In recent years the politicians have taken part in this gigantic racket.

Fascism admirably served the purposes of all of these diverse groups. It has penetrated deeply into Japanese life. The great mass of the Japanese people has blindly obeyed the directives issued from this corrupt veneer which tops the social structure. And corruption has eaten into every class of Japanese society.

Our present occupation policy seems designed to retain in continuing control precisely those elements which have been directly responsible for the course which

brought on such immeasurable tragedy to the United States and its allies.

Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State in the absence of James F. Byrnes, has issued a rebuke to General MacArthur by stating that the United States government, and not the occupying forces, shall determine our policy toward Japan. He made it clear that American policy will consist of changing the economic and social system of Japan, no matter what the cost. He reminded MacArthur that the job of the occupying forces is to carry out policies, not to determine them.



How long will the occupation of Japan last? Here Yank soldiers take time off to go sight-seeing. They are approaching the gates of the Imperial Palace. The Japanese Diet building can be seen through the gate.

Supporters of General MacArthur contend that he has been guided solely by the desire to carry out the surrender terms with a minimum cost to the United States in lives and money. If he had failed to use the governmental machinery already in existence, the General explains, "a military government would have to be set up to run the country during the early occupation. This might well have involved the employment of several million troops." He continues to explain his policy as follows:

The entire structure below the political plane, involving hundreds of thousands of people on professional and lower levels, would have had to be reconstituted and replaced. This would have involved a force running into millions of our men and would have taken many years of additional time and untold billions of dollars.

By utilizing the Japanese governmental structure to the extent necessary to prevent complete social disintegration, insure internal distribution, maintain labor, and prevent calamitous disease or wholesale starvation, the purposes of the surrender terms can be accomplished with only a small fraction of the men, time, and money originally projected.

It is pointed out further by support-

ers of MacArthur that he has by no means been soft or lenient with the Japanese. While he is using the Japanese themselves to carry out his orders, he is indeed treating them as a defeated foe and has made it clear that they must toe the mark. He has clamped down on the Japanese press and radio, forcing them to bring home to the people the fact of their defeat and the atrocities committed by them. He has ordered the dissolution of the secret police and of such secret societies as the notorious Black Dragon. He has assured newspaper correspond-

back to acceptance among civilized nations that a government does not indulge in the excesses she has loosed in the world these past 14 years and call it quits when her leaders have had enough. They must not be permitted for one moment the illusion that we will let them view the cessation of hostilities as merely a brake and not a stop to their ambitions."

There is considerable evidence that certain Japanese leaders do indeed regard the end of the war as a "brake and not a stop to their ambitions." The quest for world domination is deep-seated in the Japanese mind. It will not be easily uprooted. Even since the surrender the sentiment has been voiced that Japan will rise again. The commander at Singapore, for example, stated that "we hope the peace will last 20 years. Then we will be back again."

The Emperor

There is no more hotly debated issue than the future position of the Emperor. It has reached the point where a resolution has been introduced in the United States Senate, by Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, calling for the trial of Hirohito as a war criminal. In a two-hour speech, the Georgia senator sharply criticized the policies of MacArthur and contended that their continuation would result in our losing the peace in the Pacific.

When we decided to allow the Japanese to retain their Emperor, under Allied control, the reason was clear. We felt that he alone had the power and prestige to order the Japanese forces throughout Asia to lay down their arms. It was pointed out that it might have cost millions of American lives to storm the beaches of Japan and that the war might have been protracted many months. Inasmuch as the Emperor is regarded as a god and is therefore a religious, as well as a political, leader, it was argued, the people would have fought fanatically to the bitter end unless he ordered them to surrender.

Many of those who favored the policy of allowing the Japanese to keep their Emperor in order to bring about surrender now contend that we are running an extremely grave risk in not dislodging him. They argue that the Emperor has always been an instrument of the ruling classes of Japan and has always been used to further their purposes. For the last generation, these ruling classes have consisted of the militarists, the powerful industrial and financial interests, the landowners, and the top politicians. To permit the Emperor to keep his throne, it is argued, amounts to strengthening the hands of those groups and to prevent the establishment of true democracy.

There is considerable evidence to support the contention that many of these powerful groups are seeking to preserve their own positions by placing responsibility for the war exclusively upon the shoulders of the militarists. It has even been asserted that Hirohito himself was not informed of the militarists' intentions to attack Pearl Harbor and that, had he known it, he would have vetoed the assault. The industrialists and political leaders argue that they must be allowed to retain their positions in the interest of stability. If they and the Emperor are tried as war criminals, revolution may sweep the country and it may be im-

ments that the surrender terms will not be applied to the Japanese "in kid-glove fashion."

Length of Occupation

High-ranking military leaders appear to be divided on the length of time which will be required to make of Japan a nation incapable of threatening the peace again. Lieutenant General Robert L. Eichelberger, commander of the Eighth Army which is now in Japan, has stated that the occupation may not have to last longer than a year.

General Jonathan M. Wainwright, on the other hand, believes that a much longer occupation will be necessary to make Japan realize "that her medieval ways can have no place in our modern world." In an interview with Morgan Beatty, NBC commentator, he recommended at least a 20-year occupation period during which time "we should deprive the Japanese of any industry or any business that would make it possible for them to beat their ploughshares into swords." Wainwright argues that "Japan must be made to realize on every step of her long road

possible for the occupation forces to control the situation.

Those who oppose the present policy of dealing through the Emperor claim that it will be impossible for the Japanese people to establish democracy so long as Hirohito is retained. He is bound to the ruling groups, it is argued, and will always work for their interests, rather than for the interests of the common people. If we are to uproot fascism in Japan, as we are undertaking to uproot it in Germany, we must, according to critics of our present policy, destroy its very foundations, which include the industrialists, landed aristocracy, and political leaders, as well as those who actually conducted the military operations.

The issue over the Emperor simply boils down to this: Can we overthrow the social and economic system of Japan and establish a system of true democracy, as our State Department has promised, if the Emperor system is kept? In other words, is not the Emperor himself representative of that system of fascism, feudalism, and autocracy which we are seeking to destroy? Many people feel that democracy will be possible only if the United States Government, acting through the occupying forces, supports only those groups which are working to establish genuine democracy.

Educating the Japanese

Up to the present, the American occupying forces have concentrated their attention upon such instruments of communication as the newspapers and radio. These have been placed under rigid censorship and when any of them violate the censorship, they are suspended. Under the rules which have been imposed upon them, newspapers and radios are obliged to emphasize the atrocities which were committed during the war in order to bring home to the people the reality of their defeat and to urge them to turn to democratic ways.

A more comprehensive educational program is being mapped out by educators, linguists, and other specialists who are attached to General MacArthur's headquarters. It is understood that films will be used to promote democratic ideals and to emphasize the objectives of the Allies. Textbooks used in the schools will be rewritten, eliminating the glorification of militarism and emphasizing civil liberties and democratic principles.

The attempt is now being made to

revive free discussion throughout Japan and to encourage the growth of political parties. The present Japanese government has promised to hold elections in January, provided permission is granted by the occupying authorities.

On the surface this program of re-educating the Japanese meets with genuine approval. But many people feel that it is a program which will exist on paper only, so long as our policy of dealing through the "present governmental structure" continues. It is one thing to authorize the formation of political parties, to grant freedom of discussion, and to alter the content of textbooks; it is quite another to see that such a program is carried out, especially when those who are responsible for carrying it out are the very people who were in charge of promoting the authoritarian, feudal ideas which have prevailed in Japan for generations.

Industrial Control

One of the Allies' principal objectives toward Japan is to destroy her war-making power in the future. That was emphasized in both the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Ultimatum. In order to accomplish that purpose she is to be stripped of all territory except her home islands. Her industries are to be rigidly controlled, as well as her imports, in order that she may never again be able to build a war machine.

But how is this objective to be realized without subjecting the Japanese to starvation? That is one of the great unsolved problems confronting the Allies. As pointed out elsewhere in this paper, the home islands of Japan are poor in natural resources. Only one-sixth of the land can be cultivated, and in the prewar years, even with their low standards of living, the people were seldom self-sufficient in food. Rice, the staple of the Japanese diet, had to be imported.

Before the war, Japan was able to become a powerful industrial nation largely because of foreign trade. She possesses few of the materials for an industrial economy—coal, iron, petroleum, rubber. In the prewar years, she obtained these materials from abroad. She imported the machinery for her factories and the materials to manufacture into goods which flooded the markets of the world. In order to carry this foreign trade, she built one of the world's largest merchant ma-



Japan's economy has been built upon foreign trade. How can her economy be reorganized so as to remove the threat of future wars?

lines. Nearly one-third of her peacetime imports came from the United States, and we absorbed more than one-fifth of her exports. She was the world's leading exporter of cotton goods, which made up 19 per cent of her total exports. Her second leading export was raw silk (15 per cent), of which the United States absorbed four-fifths.

For a large number of Japanese, a flourishing foreign trade means the difference between subsistence and starvation. If Japan is to feed herself, she must import food because she cannot increase her present production. Will the rest of the world be willing to accept Japanese products after the war?

The Potsdam Ultimatum offers only a clue as to the future economic policy to be adopted toward Japan. "Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind," declares the Ultimatum, "but not those which would enable her to rearm for war. To this end, access to, as distinguished from control of, raw materials shall be permitted. Eventual Japanese participation in world trade relations shall be permitted."

In practice, it is difficult to distinguish between industries which would permit Japan "to rearm for war" and those which would "sustain her economy." As every nation has discovered, most peacetime industries can be easily converted to war production. Practically every heavy industry, for example, such as steel production, is vital to both wartime and peacetime industry.

Is it the Allies' intention to strip Japan of her heavy industries, as it is clearly their intention to do in the case of Germany? If so, Japan will be dealt a heavy blow, for in the years preceding the war, her industries showed a drastic shift from the lighter goods, such as textiles, shoes, novelties,

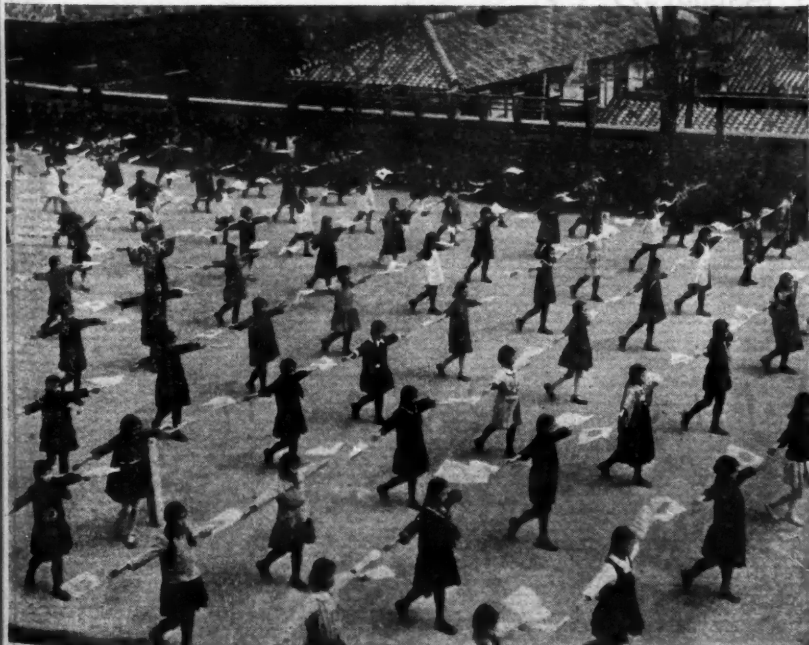
and other consumer goods, to such products as chemicals, machines, and other "heavy" articles.

Moreover, if Japan's future industry is to be concentrated upon goods which are unquestionably "peacetime," serious difficulties may be encountered. The world's markets will have been drastically dislocated as a result of the war. Even if Japan were permitted to reenter the world's markets tomorrow, she would find a far different situation from that which prevailed before the war. There seems to be little likelihood, for example, that the Chinese and other people she held under her domination will feel disposed to enter into commercial relations with her.

In all probability, one of Japan's principal sources of income in the prewar years will have been greatly reduced in the years ahead. The export of raw silk enabled Japan to buy many of the products from abroad which she needed. The United States was her principal market for raw silk. With the development of nylon, it seems likely that this country will have far less use for Japanese silk in the future.

The problem of restoring Japan's economy is extremely serious and one which will have a bearing upon future political developments. If Japanese industry cannot be so organized as to provide employment for a large proportion of the country's workers, unrest is likely to spread and our occupation difficulties will become serious. Thus the manner in which control of Japan's industries is exercised becomes a matter of major importance to the Allies.

These are but a few of the more important problems which have arisen in connection with our dealings with a defeated Japan. There is no question that the occupation itself has gone well, but our future security in the Pacific will depend upon the nature of the solution we bring to the unsolved problems confronting us.



The minds of Japanese children have been regimented through a rigid educational system. Can they be reeducated along democratic lines?

